

THE NAMES OF RĀMA

In the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* it is naturally Rāma who is distinguished by the greatest variety of epithets and equally naturally his virtue is emphasised in many of them. However, we can discover something more about the way in which Rāma is seen if we look at his names and descriptive epithets with greater attention. Some time ago I realised that the name Rāmacandra, so familiar from its modern use, is in fact totally absent from the text of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and this was the starting point for an article which is to appear in the Felicitation Volume for Professor Botto¹. In the present paper, I continue that line of research by examining the various names and epithets used to designate Rāma in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and elucidating the changes in their frequency, to ascertain whether this can reveal more about the way that Rāma was perceived at various phases in the growth of the epic. I shall use to denote these phases the classification into five overlapping stages presented in my book on the *Rāmāyaṇa*: the first stage is the reasonably homogeneous core of the *Ayodhyā* to *Yuddha kāṇḍas*, the second stage comprises the material within those books which shows evidence of later reworking or addition, the third stage consists of the *Bāla* and *Uttara kāṇḍas*, and the fourth and fifth stages

1. "The name Rāmacandra", to appear in *Lex et Litterae: Essays on Ancient Indian Law and Literature in Honour of Oscar Botto*, ed. by Siegfried Lienhard and Irma Piovano. To the instances of *rāmacandra* in *passages noted in that article should be added another in an invocation at 2.2336* 1 [l.v.].

comprise the *passages and App.I passages with good or poor manuscript support respectively². I shall concentrate mainly on the more stereotyped expressions, which the poets and reciters must have used almost automatically, but I shall also include some of those which, although they equally provide *pāda*-length phrases, did not find favour for reasons which it may be instructive to seek.

The phrase *dharmabhṛtām varaḥ*, with its emphasis on *dharma*, is exclusive to Rāma and the full *pāda rāmo dharmabhṛtām varaḥ* occurs some eleven times in the text³. By contrast, the similar but martially oriented phrase *rāmaḥ śāstrabhṛtām varaḥ* is found only at 2.92.10d and 3.3.14d (also 3.892* 7; cf. x x *śāstrabhṛtām vara* at 6.107.2d, 112.15b, and *rāmaḥ sarvāstraviduṣām śreṣṭham* ... at 4.12.7cd); E.W. Hopkins has an interesting comment on the usage of this phrase in the *Mahābhārata*: «In 6.34 (BG.10), 31, Nīlakaṇṭha (cf. R.2.99.13) explains *Rāmaḥ śāstrabhṛtām aham* as Dāśarathi, but in the Mbh. “the best (by implication) of weapon-bearers” is Bhārgava»⁴, but there is at least one exception to his statement in the *Rāmopākhyāna*, where *rāmaḥ śāstrabhṛtām varam* is used of Rāma Dāśarathi at Mbh. 3.275.49b.

The commonest *pāda* applied only to Rāma in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* is *rāmaḥ satyaparākramaḥ* which occurs six times there, and also eight times in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, but is less frequent elsewhere. It is noticeable that this *pāda* is most frequent in the second stage (11 times against 5 in the first stage and 7 in the third), no doubt in part because of the emphasis in some passages belonging to that stage on

2. *Righteous Rāma: The Evolution of an Epic*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1985. The main argument for this analysis into stages is contained in the second chapter (pp. 16-61) but a convenient tabular summary may be found on p. 330. The first and second stages each comprise about 37-38% of the text and the third almost 25%, with the fourth and fifth stages roughly equal in length to the text.

3. It occurs at 2.21.12b, 31.24b, 33.12b, 3.5.6b (acc.), 6.7b (acc.), 8b (voc.), 4.38.1b, 6.99.35b, 102.5b, 105.9d, 106.10d; 2.1619* 3, 1734* 2, 1958* 2, 3.272* 1 and 6.3200* 1; cf. also x x *dharmabhṛtām varam* at 2.2.10b, 6.105.26b (voc.), 2.997* 1, 1693*, App.I.12.56 (voc.) and the variant for the prior *pāda*, *rāmo dharmabhṛtām śreṣṭhaḥ*, at 5.56.17c (also 1.123* 4 pr., 6 App.I.25.22 pr. and – used of Rāma Jāmadagnya in the acc. – Mbh.13.52.2c; cf. *putraḥ dharmabhṛtām śreṣṭham* at 2.984* 2), as well as *kākutsthaḥ sarvaśāstrabhṛtām varaḥ* at 5.33.67ab.

4. “Allusions to the Rāma-Story in the *Mahābhārata*”, JAOS 50, 1930, pp. 85-103.

justifying Rāma's actions in moral terms⁵. The reason for its relative popularity is perhaps to be found in the combination of moral and martial superiority which it hints at, whereas the following infrequent *pādas* stress only the moral aspect; *rāmaḥ paramadharmajñāḥ* 2.34.29c, *rāmaḥ satyātmanāṃ varaḥ* 2.101.1b, *rāghavo dharmavatsalaḥ* 3.29.1b, 2.1018* 2 post., App.I.16.7, 6.336* post. (acc.), also *satyasamdhena rāmeṇa* 1.154* 6 pr. and App.I.2.8 pr.

Another frequent *pāda* is *rāmasyākliṣṭakarmanāḥ* which, in either the genitive or the instrumental, is distributed fairly evenly throughout the stages (9 times in the first stage, 8 in the second, 4 times in the third and around 20 times in the fourth and fifth stages)⁶; it occurs in the accusative once only in the text, at 5.28.41a, where exceptionally it is used in the prior *pāda* (as also at 6.2031* pr., read by M2 only), since the variant otherwise adopted in the accusative is *rāmam akliṣṭakāriṇam* found at 2.1.4b (*rāmaṃ cā°*), 21.11d, 4.25.2b, 5.1.141b (*cā°*), 56.26b (*cā°*), 6.90.23b and 102.28b, also 3.434*, 5.641*, 6 App.I.66.2. Similar, though not identical, *pādas* include *rāmād akliṣṭacāritrād* at 5.24.43c, *rāmeṇādbhutakarmanā* 6.66.33b, 1.566* 32 post., 3.289* 4 (gen.), 523* 1 (gen.), *rāmeṇa kṣiprakāriṇā* 6.96.22b, *rāmeṇācintyakarmanā* 6.99.2b, and – with the similarity in the sense rather than the wording – *rāghavasyāpramattasya* at

5. *rāmaḥ satyaparākramaḥ* occurs at 1.17.15b, 18.8b (acc.), 14b (acc.), 76.13b, 2.2.19b, 31.4b, 40.1b, 58.50d, 81.15b, 110.44b, 3.3.4b, 5.31.21d, 6.4.1d, 40.50b (voc.), 47.46b, 113.21b, 114.14b, 28b, 116.1d, 20d, 7.63.5d (acc.), 16b (acc.) and 74.15d (also at 1.69* (acc.), 110* 2, 514* 42, 566* 15 (acc.), 742* 1, 1379* 45 (acc.), 2.223* 11, 1160* 1 (acc.), 1768* 5 (loc.), 3.498* 2, 716* 4, 4.125* 2, 5.609* 1, 1359* 5, 6.314* 1, 3492* 2, 3507* 1, but at Mbh. 13.52.3b of Rāma Jāmadagnya); cf. also *rāmo* *satyaparākramaḥ* at 3.35.13ab, *rāmo dṛḍhaparākramaḥ* at 5.24.17b, *rāghavo dṛḍhavigramaḥ* at 6.26.31d.

6. *rāmasyākliṣṭakarmanāḥ* occurs at 2.66.26d, 70.7d (instr.), 79.7b, 3.31.12d (instr.), 48.13d (instr.), 4.33.17b, 52.25d (instr.), 5.33.33b, 41.7b, 56.80d (instr.), 6.31.62b (instr.), 66b, 49.8 (instr., °*kāriṇā*), 56.4b (instr.), 82.3d (instr.), 87.47b (instr.), v.l. at 99.2b (instr.), 114.38b, 7.41.26b (instr.), 67.1b, 74.1b, 92.8d (instr.); also 2.1922*, 2332* 2, 3.424* 5, 731* 3 (instr.), 740* 8 (instr.), App.I.10.79, 4.648* 13 (instr.), 661* 3 (instr.), 1141* 1 (instr.), 5.695* 1 (instr.), App.I.5.2 (instr.), 6.35* 1 (instr.), 662* (dat.), 676* 9 (instr.), 3020*, 3681* 2 (instr.), v.l. at 3708 (F)* 10, 7.981* 3 (instr.), and Mbh. 3.258.5d, 264.21b, 274.29d (instr.) and – used of Jāmadagnya – 13.14.138d (instr.), also *Kūrma Purāṇa* 1.20.34d. It is probable that this *pāda* also occurred at 1348* 3, read by V2 only and now partly illegible.

5.24.3a; the only reason for their occasional use seems to be the desire for a measure of variety.

The commonest *pāda* describing Rāma in the *Aranyakāṇḍa* is *rāmo daśarathātmajaḥ* occurring six times, and also eleven times in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, but absent from the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* and rare elsewhere. It is found at 1.1.47b, 47.30b, 66.21b, 22d (acc.), 3.20.18d, 32.5d, 48.4d, 59.1b, 63.13d (acc.), 71.14b, 4.4.5d, 5.3b, 18b, 39.9b, 5.64.1b, 6.2.1b, 4.64b, 16.1b (loc.), 16b, 31.24b, 52.14b (acc.), 66.17b, 81.14d (acc.), 92.10b, 105.10b (acc.), 106.12b, 1.1379* 21 (acc.), 26 (acc.), 2.940* 1, 3.96* 2, 606*, 4 App.I.8.1, 5.852* 1, 6.265* 1, 306* 11, 625* 1 (loc.), 647* 8 (acc.), 1026* 1 (acc.), 3399* 1 (acc.), also Mbh. 3.264.21b; cf. *rāmo dāśarathiḥ śrīmān* 1.75.21c, 4.51.4c, 56.7c, 5.56.23a, 6.16.25a, 3.979* 3, *rāmo dāśarathiḥ* x x 5.1.138a, 66.2b, 6.78.31b, 1.1379* 14, 3.541* 1, and x x *dāśarathī rāmaḥ* at 6.50.13a, 55.78a, 80.56c (acc.), 2.1921* 1 pr., 3.44* 21 pr., 1164* 3 pr., 1165* pr., 6.280* 9 pr., 407* pr., 454* 1 pr., 658* 2 pr., 7.20* pr.

In general it may be noted that *daśarathātmajaḥ*, which applies in principle also to Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna, is regularly used to designate Rāma (in 37 out of its 47 occurrences in the text; it also occurs at least a dozen times in the fourth and fifth stages). The exceptions are references to Bharata in the context of his return to Ayodhyā, his expedition after Rāma and his return then to act as Rāma's viceroy (at 2.65.7d, 87.3b, 93.17b and 106.19d), Lakṣmaṇa acting as Rāma's envoy to Sugrīva (4.32.3b and 33.2d) and in his fight with Indrajit (6.76.7d), and in the dual of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa together (5.11.22d, 6.39.1b, 40.3b, 2.1173* 4, 3.1323*, 1324* 2 and App.I.17.5). Similarly, the patronymic *dāśarathi* is used of Lakṣmaṇa at 6.47.100b [l.v.], 103d [l.v.] and 76.1a, and in the dual of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa at 6.67.31c, 32c, 33c (also 6.126* 3b), but refers to Rāma in the rest of its 62 occurrences in the text, of which as many as 1 in 4 are in verses in longer metres (as well as almost half of its 33 occurrences in the fourth and fifth stages); apart from this, it is commonest in the first stage and declines in frequency thereafter, showing basically the same pattern as *daśarathātmaja* (which is much more frequent in the first stage than subsequently).

Also quite common, occurring eleven times in the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*

though notably absent from the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, is *rāghavasya mahātmanah* which occurs fairly evenly throughout the different stages of the epic's growth (11 times in the first stage, 10 in the second, 8 in the third, 35 or more in the fourth and fifth stages) but is so general in sense as to reveal nothing of significance about Rāma; the term *mahātman* is applied to virtually every major figure in the epic, not excluding Rāvaṇa⁷. Another *pāda* with a similarly general sense is *rāmasya viditātmanah* which occurs seven times each in the first and second stages but is rare later⁸. His splendour is indicated in the full *pāda rāmasyāmitatejasah* 6.16.23d (instr.), 59.25b (instr.), 1.686* 1, 705* 1 (dat.), 839* 1 (dat.), 1252* 8 (instr.), 1379* 40, 2.781* 2, 1210* 3, 1290* 1 (instr.), 4.250* 2; cf. ... *rāmasya ... amitatejasah* 5.56.61ab, *rāmeṇādityatejasā* 6.48.65d, and *rāmaṃ jvalitatejasam* 3.5.1d and 2 App. I.15.3. A shorter form is found in *tato rāmo mahātejāḥ* 6.47.126a, 49.1a, 7.31.1a, 6.1976* pr.; cf. *atha rāmo mahātejāḥ* 6.1837* 1 pr., while the adjective *mahātejaḥ*, like *mahātman*, *mahāyaśaḥ*, *mahābala*, *mahābāhu*, *pratāpavat* and the like, is common not only for Rāma but also for most major figures. Mostly such adjectives do not link with the name into a complete *pāda*, although occasional examples are found, such as *mahābhāgena rāmeṇa* at 4.33.16a, *rāghavaṃ ca mahābalaṃ* 4.37.2d, 5.62.2b (dual of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa) or *rāghavaṃ ca mahāvratam* 2.718* 4 post. One tech-

7. *rāghavasya mahātmanah* occurs at: 1.1.67d, 3.14d, 44.7b, 3.15.1b, 4.13.3b, 15b, 31.16d, 42.6b (instr.), 5.1.155d, 35.60b, 56.32b (instr.), 58.17d, 65.1b (instr.), 6.11.15b (dat.), 48.2d (instr.), 56.1b (instr.), 68.1b, 88.6b (instr.), 89.29b, 92.6d, 98.1b (instr.), 100.11b (instr.), 108.9b, 114.15d (instr.), 7.2.1b, 40.5b (instr.), 41.17d, 42.3d, 47.7d (instr.), 86.14b and 90.1d (dat.), also at 1 App.I.1.9, 16, 110 (instr.), 122, 178 (instr.), 257 (instr.), 266, 2.200* 1 (instr.), 361* (instr.), 1170* 1 (dat.), App.I.16.1, App.I.26.95, 3.447* 7 (instr.), 924*, 989* 1, 4, App.I.8.1, 4.123* 22, 207* 1, 318* 2 (instr.), 463* 4, 841* 3, 1196* 2, 5 App.I.7.6 (instr.), 6.647* 11 (instr.), 656* 1, 667* 1 (dat.), 829* (instr.), 1744* (dat.), 2005*, 3092* 2 (instr.), 3150* 9, 3587* 2 (instr.), 7.778* 1 (instr.), 818* (dat.), but contrast *kākutsthena mahātmanā* at 4.262* 5; cf. *rāghavaṃ ca mahātmānam* 6.71.4a (also *rāmaṃ caiva mahātmānam* 4.516* 1), *rāmeṇa tu mahātmanā* 4.31.8b, and *rāmasya ca mahātmanah* 4.48.9d, 1.160* 2, 7.799* 2: Data for the fourth and fifth stages are not complete, since App.I of *Yuddhakāṇḍa* and the *passages and App.I of *Uttarakāṇḍa* have not been checked as systematically as the rest.

8. *rāmasya viditātmanah* occurs at 2.2.30b, 3.19.5b, 32.11d (instr.), 5.2.36b, 40b, 14.10d (instr.), 18b, 17.6b, 23.17b (instr.), 24.49b (instr.), 28.42b, 34.9d (instr.), 6.24.7b, 33.8b, also 1.663* 1, 3.581* 7, 819(A)*, 1344* 2 (dat.), 5.501*.

nique to form *pāda*-length phrases – adding *su-* before such adjectives – is rare and relatively late; instances found are: *rāmeṇa sumahātmanā* 2.105.14b (note the variant: *rāmeṇa viditātmanā*), *rāghavaḥ sumahāyaśāḥ* 6.2062* 13, and *rāghavaḥ sumahāmanāḥ* 6.3163* 8 (M2 only).

Rāma is projected as the conqueror of foes or strangers in several *pādas*, of which the commonest is *rāmaḥ parapurāṁjayah* 2.2.9d, 4.42.8d, 6.26.1d, 72.2b, 116.12b (also 3.469* 2, 1191* 10, App.I.7.25, 5.651* 4, 7.1262* 2), but none is very frequent. The others are: *rāmaḥ śatrunibarhaṇaḥ* 1.4.22d, 3.27.18b, 6.1.16b, 92.23b, *rāmaḥ śatrubhayāvahāḥ* 6.514* post., *rāghavaḥ śatrutāpanaḥ* 2.1907* 1 post. and 3.533* 2 (acc.); *rāghavaḥ śatrusūdanam* 3.467* 8 post., *rāghavaḥ śatrukārśanaḥ* 5.671* post.; and *rāmaḥ parabalāmardī* 4.15.15c; *rāmaḥ parabalārdanam* 4.39.1d, *rāghavaḥ paravīrahā* 4.25.8b, 5.62.40b, 3.558* 1, 6.8* 1, 7.774*, 986* 5, and *rāmaḥ paravīrahantā* 4.30.5c [l.v.]. His strength is stressed in the term *atibalaḥ*, occurring in *jayaty atibalo rāmaḥ* 5.41.6a, 6.32.13a, 2.2336* 6, 5.1266* 4 pr., 6.694* 2 pr.; cf. *didesātibalo rāmaḥ* 6.35.1c. Other *pādas* alluding to his might or prowess are *rāghavasyāmitaujaśaḥ* 5.48.16b, *rāmasya vipulaujaśaḥ* 2 App.I.25.50 post., *rāmam apratimaujaśam* 3.439* 1 post., 522* 1 post., *rāmaḥ sīghraparākramaḥ* 6.3070* 6 post., and *rāghavo laghuvikramaḥ* 3.347* 5 post. More generally he is seen as the warrior hero in the following relatively late *pādas*: *rāmasya mahārathasya* 3.27.30a [longer verse (l.v.)], *rāghavo ranavikrāntaḥ* 5.56.116c, *rāmaḥ ca raṇakuñjaram* 6.8.16f, *rāghavaḥ ripughātinam* [varia lectio (v.l.)] at 3.24.1b, App.I.8.3, *rāmeṇa ripughātinā* 1.514* 46 (gen.), 4.259* 17, *rāghavo ripumardanaḥ* 3.499* 1, *rāmaś ca ripusūdanaḥ* 3.504* 17, *rāmeṇāpratīvīryeṇa* 3.609* pr. [v.l.] at 4.34.4c, and *rāghavo jayatām varaḥ* at 6.3451* 7, while the pugnacity of the warrior is indicated in *rāghavaḥ paramāmarṣī* at 4 App.I.19.26. Presumably the implication of the following *pādas* is also his fierceness: *rāme manujaśārdūle* 2.1367* 1, *rāghavo nṛpaśārdūlaḥ* 5.1274* 5, *rāmasya rājasinḥasya* 5.1048* 13. The relative lack of stereotyping here suggests that this martial aspect was not of particular importance in the poets' understanding of Rāma's character.

Even more strikingly the image of Rāma as the bowman so fami-

liar in later iconography (in contradistinction to Rāma Jāmadagnya, later called Paraśurāma) finds no real support in the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. If we take the term *dhanuṣpāṇi* as typical, we may note that, although it occurs a couple of times in a somewhat formulaic *pāda*, *tato rāmo dhanuṣpāṇiḥ* at 4.12.19a and 6.114.20a (cf. also *yatra rāmo dhanuṣpāṇiḥ* at 3 App.I.8.8), it is actually applied less often in the text to Rāma (also at 3.8.11a, 27.11a, 42.5b, 6.14.14a) than to Lakṣmaṇa (at 2.45.6c = 80.7c, 3.10.1c, 45.17c, 61.12c, 4.30.41a, 5.37.47c, 66.25c, 6.72.32a, 74.1c) and as often to others still (to Daśaratha at 1.19.5a, to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa together at 1.21.7a, to *rākṣasas* at 6.42.24a and 46.20d, and to Śatrughna at 7.56.7c and 60.3d). Nor is it appreciably more frequent in the fourth and fifth stages, although it is interesting to note the use of a couple of other adjectives in *pādas* which could readily have become formulaic: *rāmaṃ paramadhanvinam* 1.1359* post., and *rāmaḥ sarvadhanu<śma>tāṃ śreṣṭhaḥ* ... 5.717*.

Two *pādas* which highlight Rāma's physical appearance, *rāmaḥ kamalapatrākṣaḥ* and *rāmo rājīvalocanaḥ*, are much more frequent in the fourth and fifth stages, perhaps reflecting the shift towards a devotional attitude; *rāmaḥ kamalapatrākṣaḥ*, occurring in the first or third *pāda*, appears only five times in all in the text but more often in the fourth and fifth stages⁹, and *rāmo rājīvalocanaḥ*, occurring in the second or fourth *pāda*, appears seven times in the text but eighteen or more times in the fourth and fifth stages¹⁰. Similar to these in its refe-

9. It occurs at 1.75.12c (acc.), 2.60.8a, 5.33.8a, 6.28.19c (acc.), 7.99.1c; also v.l. at 6.24.27c, 1.81* 1, 800* 3 (acc.), 997* 4 (acc.), 1325* 2 (acc.), 3.230* 1 (acc.), 4.523* 2, 6.754* 1 and Mbh. 3.275.3a (also x x *kamalapatrākṣaḥ* at 2.804* 1); cf., for the second and fourth *pādas*, *rāmaḥ kamalalocanaḥ* 5.34.32b, 62.25d (acc.), 3 App.I.13.2, 5.1350*, 1385* 2, App.I.5.24.

10. It occurs at 1.18.17d (acc.), 19.2b, 2.89.2d, 3.59.27b, 5.24.39d (acc.), 6.4.63b, 7.88.3b; 1.78*, 519* 2, 742* 23, 2.314* 1, 336* 3, 838* 2 (acc.) 919* 2, 1731* 6 (acc.), 1861* 2, v.l. at App.I.12.86 post. (voc.), App.I.13.14 (loc.), 51 (acc.), 3.508* 1, 4.409*, 1182* 2, 5.885* 1, App.I. 5.5, 6.1752* 5, 3399* 11 and – used of Jāmadagnya – Mbh. 13.83.31b; cf. *rāmo rājīvatāmṛākṣaḥ* 2.140* 3 pr., App.I.24.22 pr., *rāme rājīvaraktākṣe* 2.908* 10 pr., *rāmaṃ padmanibhekaṣaṇam* 2.2360* post., and *rāmaṃ padmadalekaṣaṇam* 5.788* 2. Note too that the adjective *rājīvalocana* is also used of Rāma at 1.29.12b, 2 App.I.24.14 and 3.557* 1, but of Daśaratha 2 at App.I.14.62. We may also compare *rāmaṃ indīvaraśyāmaṃ* at 2.2.33a (= App.I.5.16 pr.) and *rāmaṃ āyatatāmṛākṣam* at 3.1208* 2 pr. = 1209* 2 pr.

rence to his physical appearance, but carrying more martial overtones, is *rāmo raktāntalocanaḥ* at 3.19.12b (acc.), 5.24.31b, 6.14.3b, also 3.474* 10 (acc.), 4.238* 3 and 5 App.I.5.9, with which may be compared in the prior *pāda*: *rāmaṃ raktāntanayanam* at 5.24.35c. Another *pāda* combining name and epithet and alluding to his appearance occurs only once: *pūrṇacandrānanam rāmaṃ* at 6.101.42a (also as [v.l.] at 3.45.31a).

The shift by the later stages to a devotional attitude towards Rāma is illustrated very well by the *pādas lokanāthasya rāmasya* 2.790* 1 pr., 6 App.I.18.19 pr. (cf. *lokanāthaḥ sa rāghavaḥ* 5.19.19d) and *rāghavyāprameyasya* 5.427* 2 pr., 503* 2 pr., with their implicit ascription of divinity to Rāma, which is perhaps also visible in the Northern variant *rāmaḥ prāṇabhṛtām varaḥ* for 7.74.15d. On the other hand the emphasis is on his own piety or self-discipline in *rāmaṃ prayatamānasam* at 7.10.2b and *rāghavaḥ prayatātmavān* at 6 App.I.65.56. Is there possibly some indication of Rāma's graciousness to worshippers in *rāghavaḥ priyabāndhavaḥ* at 2 App.I.24.6 and *rāghavaṃ priyakāriṇam* 4.686* 2?

Surprisingly perhaps, allusion to Rāma's wisdom is never particularly frequent, although the main phrase to indicate this is appreciably commoner in the third and especially the fourth stage than earlier. This is x x *rāmasya dhīmataḥ* at 5.20.21b, 31.12d (*bhāryā...*), 34.2b, 6.5.21b, 91.1b, 116.62d, 7.43.15b, 48.17d (*patnī...*), 49.2d, 60.11b (*bhrātā...*), 98.4d (instr.), also 2.223* 8, 1707* 1 (instr.) 2403* 3 (instr.), 2405* (dat.), App.I.25.23, 3.160*, 208* 6 (dat.), 468* 3 (instr.), 574* 3, 672* 1, 4.908* 1, 5.418* 6, 1274* 3 (instr.), 6.1851* 1, 3493* 1; cf. *rāghavena ca dhīmataḥ* 4.463* 6. Were it not for the number of occurrences elsewhere, one might be tempted from a Western standpoint to think that its use (at 7.48.17d and 49.2d) in the context of Rāma's banishment of Sītā was ironic but presumably its employment there indicates the poet's explicit approval of the attitudes involved. There is a form of stereotyping in *rāmo buddhimatām varaḥ* at 6.1649* 2 post. but of an epithet which is quite widely applied, and indeed it is striking that this occurs only once; the same is true of *rāghavya manasvinaḥ* at 3.27* post.

Play on Rāma's name is less frequent than might be expected in view of the frequency of other stereotyped *pādas* such as *lakṣmaṇaḥ*

śubhalakṣaṇaḥ. However, the following instances are found, mostly in the fourth stage: *rāmo ramayatām śreṣṭhaḥ* 2.47.1c, 6.4.66c, 7 App.I.8.220 pr., and *rāmo ramayatām varaḥ* 2.55.1b (loc.), 5 App.I.5.17 post., 7.796* 1 post., 859* 2 post. (acc.); cf. *rāmasya lokarāmasya* 1.17.16a and 1.1324* 3 pr.; *guṇābhirāmaṃ rāmaṃ ca* 5.14.1c; *guṇārāmasya rāmasya* 1 App.I.2.1 pr., *guṇaratnākare rāme* 2.9* 2 pr., *abhirāmasya rāmasya* 1.154* 10 pr., *rāmo lokābhirāmaḥ* 2.55* 4 pr., *rāmaḥ sarvamanoramaḥ* 5 App.I.6.2 post.; *rāmam svabhirāmadarśanam* 4.27.45c [l.v.] (= 4.527* 6 [l.v.]). The emphasis on his virtues seen in some of these is also found in two *pādas* which each occur only once in the fourth stage, when such emphasis is strongest: *rāmaḥ sarvaguṇānvitaḥ* 2.222* 3 post. and *sarvaśreṣṭhaguṇaṃ rāmaṃ* 2.1898* 2 pr.

As some of these stereotyped *pādas* already demonstrate, the properly dynastic term *rāghava* is overwhelmingly employed to designate Rāma, although it can be used on occasion for others. This is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by the fact that after its use for Rāma (399 times in the first stage, 324 in the second and 197 in the third – a small but appreciable decline in frequency from the first to the third stage), the next most frequent is its use in the dual for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, which occurs mainly in the first stage and does not, of course, constitute a real exception¹¹. Equally, alongside the common *rāmalakṣmaṇau* there is also occasionally found *rāghavalakṣmaṇau* (five times in the text, of which three are in verses in longer metres: 1.35.1b, 3.50.42c [l.v.], 4.1.49d [l.v.], 5.14.29b [l.v.] and 6.40.22b, also 6.1341* 22), while the use of *rāghavānuja* to denote either Lakṣmaṇa or Bharata is just as indicative¹². There are several stereotyped *pādas* which confirm this:

11. *rāghavau* denotes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa at 1.22.7b, 29.4b, 47.9b, 48.17a, 65.2c, 66.19d, 67.11d, 68.17a, 2.31.1d, 46.5d, 87.22d, 110.45b, 3.6.3d, 49.23d, 65.1b, 5b, 22d, 66.5b, 70.3d, 4.3.1d, 4.25d, 5.1d, 5.38.16c, 61.27c [l.v.], 62.2b, 6.35.12b, 36.3d, 7a, 38.16d, 40.60a, 41.9b, 115.25b; also 1.648*, App.I.5.3,5, 2.1095* 3, 1100*, 1109* 3, 1213* 5, 3.44* 13, 116* 2, 1252* 1, 1254* 4, 1274* 8, 1369*, 4.87* 3, 300* 3, 1147*, 1266* 1, 6.736*, 1556* 2 [l.v.], 1764* 11, 1794*, 3494* 2, 3498* 5; but at 7.74.3d Bharata and Lakṣmaṇa are meant (Rāma speaking) and at 7.98.14b Kuśa and Lava (Śatrughna addressing Rāma).

12. *rāghavānuja* occurs at 2.14.22b, 3.11.1b, 44.1b, 4.31.4d, 6.78.24b, 59.78b, 116.44b, 7.46.1b, 91.14d; 2.1717* 1, 3.1266* 3, 4 App.I.17.16, 5.863* 1; cf. *rāghavāvaraḥ* (= Lakṣmaṇa) 5.863* 1. Indeed it is hardly less frequent than the spe-

rāghavaḥ sahalakṣmaṇaḥ at 1.44.1b, 48.12b, 3.16.2b, 63.25b, 70.25b, 4.26.5b, 5.32.20b (acc.), 35.24b (acc.), 40d (acc.), 56.118d, 6.8.13d (acc.), 53.38b, also 1 App.I.1.185, 2.1134* 1, 3.848* 2 (loc.), 1367*, 5.1383* 1, 6.764* 2, 3524* (cf. *rāmaṃ ca sahalakṣmaṇam* 6.38.21d, 47.6b and, in the prior *pāda*, *rāghavaḥ sahasaumatirīḥ* 5.33.41c, but contrast *lakṣmaṇaḥ saharāghavaḥ* 5.61.24b); *rāmaḥ saumitriṇā saha* 1.49.1b, 3.7.11b, 12.23d, 71.20b, 4.26.4d, 5.19.29b, 6.32.20b, 45.10b, 108.17b (acc.), 2.1015* 1, 1131* 1, 2120* 1, 3 App.I.3.8 (cf. *rāmas tu sahasaumatirīḥ* 3.7.1a, *rāmaḥ saumitrisahito* 4.1.1c and *rāmaḥ saumitriṇā sārddham* 4.1*); *rāghavaḥ saha sītayā* 2.242* 1, 2184*, 3.286* 11; and also, with the other rather less frequent patronymic, *kākutsthaḥ sahalakṣmaṇaḥ* 3.7.17b, 6.24.15b, 107.9b. The prime explanation for the greater frequency of *rāghava* compared with *kākutstha* appears to lie in the fact that for metrical reasons the preferred position for *rāghava* is in the second or fourth *pāda*, while that for *kākutstha* is in the first or third, by a margin of around four to one in both cases.

On a few occasions, when it is compounded with *saha-* or *sa-*, the term *rāghava* is ambiguous in so far as it could mean either Rāma or Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (1.34.7d, 44.7d, 9b, 65.1d, 4.8.13d) or at 1.73.8d either Rāma or all four brothers, but these are really of no significance. The only occasion that I have noticed where there is serious ambiguity is at 2.18.15d, where either Rāma or Daśaratha could be meant. At the following places *rāghava* denotes Daśaratha: 1.13.12d, 18.18b, 20.7b (or perhaps here the singular is used of the dynasty), 8b, 2.9.22b, 51.26b, 57.34b, 68.9b, 96.8b, 2.1346* 7, 1422* 1. The instance at 2.96.8 is particularly interesting, incorporating as it does both a stereotyped *pāda* elsewhere applied to Rāma and *rāghava* also applied to Rāma: *idam iṣvākunāthasya rāghavasya mahātmanah / rāghavena pitur dattaṃ paśyataitad yathāvidhi //*; indeed, many N manuscripts have the second *pāda* in the instrumental and thus

cific *rāmānuja*, occurring at 2.53.24a, 69.4a, 4.19.25c, 30.1d [l.v.], 12d, 33a, 31.22a [l.v.] (imc), 5.26.10d [l.v.], 19d [l.v.], 6.47.96b [l.v.], 76.15b, 7.61.29c, 91.6a; 4.299* 1 [l.v.] (ic), 5.863* 4, 7.1439* 3 [l.v.]. Conversely, *lakṣmaṇapūrvaja* (2.48.12b, 53.21b, 5.24.18b, 37b, 26.10d [l.v.], 6.31.1b; 2.1044* 2, 3.122(A)*, 4.239* 4, 6.609* 1) and *lakṣmaṇāgraja* (2.2.11b, 18.37b, 99.1b, 3.6.18b, 4.8.45b, 13.1b, 5.24.38b, 33.32b, 6.30.25b, 31.13b, 59.8d, 92.7b, 112.1b, 115.29b; 2.1200* 5, 2182* 1, 3.494* 2, App.I.11.11, 4.64*, 6.3053* 4 [l.v.]) denote Rāma.

applying to Rāma. Of course, Daśaratha is the head of the dynasty until his death and thus one might expect the term to be used even more often to denote him. Certainly *rāghava* is applied more often to Bharata – 23 times in all – in the second half of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, in the context of his anticipated succession to the throne and then of his becoming in effect Rāma's viceroy, at 2.63.5d, 64.14d, 65.23d, 73.4b, 76.27a [l.v.], 77.5b, 79.17b, 83.1b, 84.3b, 86.18d, 93.13b, 94.11b, 14d, 39d, 45d, 49b, 50b, 51b, 59b, 97.19b, 103.18d, 20d, 23b, 1820* 1, 2163* 1, 2214* 2, App.I.23.29, 101 (also *rāghavī senā* of Bharata's or the kingdom's army at 2.2105* 1). However, perhaps pointedly, Bharata himself calls Rāma *rāghava* at 67.10b. The term is used much more rarely of the other two brothers: 5 times of Lakṣmaṇa – 2.45.1d (where several manuscripts substitute Lakṣmaṇa's name), 4.32.8d, 6.47.91a [l.v.], 77.30c, 7.50.18b (but *rāghavārthe* at c denotes Rāma) – and 4 times of Śatrughna – 7.62.2d, 6b, 63.10bd (Rāma speaking, and at 63.3d *rāghava* = Rāma), 98.11d. The term can also denote the dynasty itself and is usually then in the plural: 1.20.2c, 68.11c, 2.58.21d, 60.6d, 62.8d, 102.22d, 31a [l.v.], 4.8.4d (iic), 5.1.99a (sg.), also 1.1250* 1, 1295* 5, App.I.1.288, 2.1452* 2, 4 App.I.23.26, 5.923* 2, App.I.8.19. We may note that in 1.68 *rāghava* is used of Daśaratha (by Janaka), of the dynasty, and of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Similarly, we may note the juxtaposition of *kākutstha* (= Rāma) and *rāghava* (= Bharata) at 2.103.20, where only the context makes clear which is meant: *te tam ūcur mahātmānaṃ pauraajāna-padā janāḥ / kākutstham abhijānīmaḥ samyag vadati rāghavaḥ //*, and of the same two terms to denote Daśaratha and Rāma respectively at 6.108.1: *pratiprayāte kākutsthe mahendraḥ pākāśāsanaḥ / abravīt pramaprīto rāghavaṃ prāñjaliṃ sthitam //*.

In the same way the simple form *raghu* is occasionally used in the plural of the dynasty (5.36.9b (iic), 6.96.20b, 2.1030* 8, 2243* 3 App.I.12.54, 5.673* 3), as is the compound *raghuvaṃśa* (6.1.10a, 1.154* 14, 5.485*), but much more frequently *raghu* is used at the start of a compound adjective and these forms become increasingly frequent in the later stages, mirroring the overall decline in the frequency of *rāghava* and *kākutstha*. In view of Kālidāsa's choice of the name *Raghuvaṃśa* for his *mahākāvya*, it is worth noting that both that and similar terms are infrequent. Besides the few instances of the sim-

ple form just noted, the following also occur, to denote Rāma unless otherwise noted: *raghuvaṃśavardhana* (2.89.19d [l.v.], also 3 App.I.13.120 [l.v.], 4.162* 4 [l.v.], 7.779* 2 [l.v.], 804* 1 [l.v.], 999* 4 [l.v.], 1191* 3 [l.v.], and in the dual of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa at 2.1029* 2 [l.v.]); *raghuvaṃśavivardhana* 5.641 (B)*, 6.253* 1; *raghuvaravaṃśavivardhana* 6.2060* 5 [l.v.]; *rāghavavaṃśavardhana* 2.20.36b [l.v.], 104.24a [l.v.], App.I.27.48 [l.v.], 3.259* 2 [l.v.] and in the dual of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa 2.1128* 2 [l.v.]; *rāghavavaṃśaja* used of Bharata at 2.84.19d; *raghukulanṛpanandana* 6.97.33c [l.v.]; *raghukulodvaha* 3.253* 3, App.I.4.19, 7.1145*. The term *rāghaven-dra* used of Rāma at 3.315* (read by G3 only) could also be included here.

The adjective *raghunandana* is used more frequently of Rāma than of any other character. It is much more frequent in the *Bāla* and *Uttara kāṇḍas* (occurring 41 and 32 times respectively) and in passages of the fourth and fifth stages (where it occurs around 100 times) than in the *Ayodhyā* to *Yuddha kāṇḍas*, in which it occurs 27 times in all (with 11 occurrences in the first stage and 16 in the second)¹³. On the other hand, the somewhat tautologous full *pāda* *rāghavo raghunandanah* – used only of Rāma himself – is absent from the third stage, though occurring twice in the second, and is found mainly in

13. It is found at 1.22.12b, 24.14d, 26.9d, 27.12b, 29.19b, 21b, 31.9d, 32.14b, 22b, 33.6d, 15d, 34.18b, 36.9b, 14d, 37.13b, 15b, 20d, 38.1b, 19d, 39.9d, 13b, 27b, 40.1b, 23b, 41.2b, 3b, 11b, 12b, 42.6b, 44.21b, 45.12b, 47.19b, 51.12b, 54.4d, 55.12d, 60.11b, 21d, 61.1d, 62.10b, 66.16b, 76.2d, 2.23.18b, 50.1d, 91.17c [l.v.], 111.16d, 3.8.1b, 10.71b, 12.5b, 13.1b, 15.2b, 25.14b, 42.1b, 55.15b, 57.1b, 58.4b, 67.29b, 70.17d, 4.13.12b, 5.10.2b [l.v.], 6.16.15d, 66.35b, 72.10a, 87.43b, 101.6b, 108.10b, 111.2b, 113.16d, 116.40d, 7.1.13b, 8.22b, 40.12d, 41.11d, 45.11d, 47.12d, 49.16d, 54.7d, 11d, 56.1d, 59.3d, 61.32b, 63.3b, 7b, 65.8d, 68.11b, 12d, 69.1d, 70.14b, 73.9d, 75.1d, 77.19b, 78.6b, 15d, 79.11d, 89.4b, 97.6d, 98.16b, 100.1d; 1.624*, 636* 41, 638* 1, 742* 40, 827* 10, 875*, 1124*, 1146* 1, 1173* 64, 1183* 10, 1325* 1, 1326*, 1379* 39, App.I.7.23, App.I.8.17, 2.372* 3, 374* 2, 410* 4, 574* 4, 620* 2, 694* 1, 717* 13, 718* 3, 725* 7, 818* 2, 1069* 1, 1107* 4, 1272* 8, 1623* 1, 2164* 9 [l.v.], 2304* 3, App.I.13.43, App.I.26.15, 3.204* 4, 207*, 215*, 220*, 228*, 446* 1, 456* 4, 479* 1, 480* 1, 738*, 1068* 1, 1150* 1, 1296*, 1313*, App.I.3.17, 29.64, App.I.4.22, App.I.8.25, App.I.9.6, App.I.18.37, 4.123* 4, 130* 1, 142*, 189*, v.l. 35.17d, 790*, App.I.15.2, 5.765* 2, 846* 2, 1020* 2 [l.v.], App.I.5.24, App.I.8.17, 6.9* 3, 33* 1, 266* 1, 1208* 2, 1312* 3, 2059* 2, 3007* 2, 3206* 12, 3303* 5, 3306* 3, 3428*, 3441*, 3622*, 3636* 1, 3668* 2, 3684* 1, 7.23*, 87* 1, 90* 3, 773* 1, 941* 2 [l.v.], App.I.12.25.

the fourth to fifth stages¹⁴. The adjective *raghunandana* is, however, not uncommonly applied to other characters: to Daśaratha at 1.70.22d, 71.16b, 23b, 72.4d, 2.1.1d, also 1.1245* 2, 2.826* 8; to Lakṣmaṇa at 3.41.45b (Rāma speaking), 6.72.32d, 78.7b, 7.44.17b (Rāma speaking), 51.1b, also 3.283* 4 (Rāma speaking), 1133* 3 (Rāma speaking), 1189* 1 (Rāma speaking); to Bharata at 1.72.19d, also 2.2304* 11, App.I.1.15, App.I.2.78,94; to Śatrughna at 7.55.9d (Rāma speaking), 98.8b, in the dual to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa at 1.28.17d. 3.70.3b; and in the plural to all four brothers at 1.72.27b¹⁵. It is, indeed, much less specific than many of these terms.

Thus, *raghuśreṣṭha* is used of Rāma at 1.39.21a, 6.112.3c, 7.35.15a, 36.32c, 1.873* 3, 1000* 1, 2.1200(A)* 2, 5.1392* 2, 6.493*, 1745* 3, 1752* 5 (x x x *raghuśreṣṭho rāmo rājīvalocanaḥ*, read by T3 only), 7.1188* 1, in the dual of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa at 2.11* 1, but otherwise once only of Śatrughna at 7.43.9a. Similarly, *raghūttama* almost exclusively denotes Rāma (at 3.70.20b, 5.65.31b, 7.73.5d, 1.1185* 3, 2.559* 1, 2304* 6, 3.218*, 225*, 799*, 1224*, 1347* 1, 1375* 5 [l.v.], 5.502* 5, 890*, 6.253* 2, 1221* 3 [l.v.] 2082* 3, 3009*, 3053* 6 [l.v.], 7.787* 2 [l.v.]), being used twice of Lakṣmaṇa, at 6.1323* 1 and 1741* 2, and once of all four brothers at 1.72.23d in the context of their wedding. A third such form occurs only in verses in longer metres: *raghupravīra* at 6.67.42b [l.v.], 7.61.38b [l.v.] (= Śatrughna), 3.789* 73 [l.v.], 790* 110 [l.v.], 4 App.I.14.87 [l.v.], 6.991* [l.v.] (= Lakṣmaṇa), 7.843* 1 [l.v.], 1022* 2 [l.v.]. Other similar forms are: *raghumukhya* 5.17.20c, *raghuvīra* 2.39* 1, 4.123* 49, 7.1136* 3 [l.v.], *raghuśārdūla* 2.1767* 1, 3.796* 1, 6.2070(C)* 8, *raghusattama* 6.131* 6 and *raghusūnu* at 3 App.I.8.51 [l.v.], all denoting Rāma; however, *raghusuta* denotes Lakṣmaṇa at 6.78.51c.

As already noted, the other main patronymic *kākutstha* is much

14. The full pāda *rāghavò raghunandanaḥ* occurs at 5.37.42b, 6.91.24d; 2.332* 2, 1107* 4, 3.458* 9 (acc.), 1068* 1 (acc.), 4.130* 1 (acc.), 142* (acc.), 6.33*, 2070(C)* 2 (acc.), 3253*.

15. So too the much less frequent *rāghavanandana* is used of Bharata at 2.80.3d and 7.54.14d, of Śatrughna at 7.57.2b, 59.3d, 61.32b, and of Rāma himself at 7.33.22b and 87.17b; it is also worth noting that this occurs only once outside the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

less frequent than *rāghava*. But it too is used predominantly of Rāma; only 20 of its occurrences in the singular in the text do not apply to Rāma, who is designated 62 times in the first stage, 61 in the second, 86 in the third and 76 or more times in the fourth and fifth stages. Daśaratha is meant at 1.18.16a, 20.3c, 2.32.9a, 35.26a, 6.108.1a, 2.1058* 2 (iic) and App.I.10.56, Lakṣmaṇa at 3.41.8a, 4.34.22e and 4 App.I.7.32, Bharata at 2.78.12a, 83.5b, 7.85.16c (Rāma speaking), 2.134* 8, 1925*, App.I.25.7, Śatrughna at 7.54.15c, 21a, 55.10a, 56.1a, 63.13a, 15a (all Rāma speaking) and 57.7c, Sagara at 1.38.9c, Somadatta's son at 1.46.16d, and Kākutstha 2 at App.I.27.3. The dual is used a number of times for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (at 1.29.3a, 66.26a, 3.49.23b, 6.36.33c, 38.27c, 28c, 40.38a, 74.26a, 1.730*, 3.44* 24, 1321* 2, 1322* 1, App.I.12.63 [l.v.], 6.878* 1, probably also at the start of a compound at 1.64.22c) and in addition for Rāma and Bharata at 2.104.2d and for Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata at 7.55.5a, while the plural is used for the dynasty at 2.102.22b and for all four brothers at 1.72.21c and 1329*.

The instances in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* where *kākutstha* does not denote Rāma have an interesting distribution: 7.54.15c, 21a, 55.5a, 10a, 56.1a, 57.7c, 63.13a, 15a and 85.16c; all the last of them are in the passage concerned with Śatrughna's founding of Madhurā (most denote Śatrughna but one occurrence in the dual at 55.5a denotes Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata). The dynastic implications of the employment of the term here are obvious, as they were for the use of *rāghava* for Bharata in the second half of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*.

The dynasty is of course most commonly known as the Ikṣvāku dynasty but in fact the patronymic form *aikṣvāka* is rare, occurring only at 1.23.11c, 69.9d, 2.12.1d, 30.23a [l.v.] (iic), 32.1a, 33.14a, 43.15a, 46.8d, 3.65.2c and 6.116.38c (iic). In all cases the dynastic sense is obviously present, even in those instances where the reference is to individuals. In fact *ikṣvāku* itself, either in the plural or as the first element of a compound, is much commoner but, unlike *rāghava* and *kākutstha*, shows an appreciable increase in frequency in later stages (23 times in the first stage, 35 in the second, 36 in the third, and 60 or more in the fourth and fifth stages). A number of these compounds are similar to those with *rāghava* or *raghu*. Thus we find *ikṣvākunandana* used of Rāma at 1.17.6d, 5.31.14b, 2.937*,

App.I.26.56, 3.202* 1, 6.3587* 6, of Daśaratha at 4.61.4b, 1.422*, and of Śatrughna at 7.63.4b; *ikṣvākunātha* used of Bharata by Rāma at 3.15.35c, of Sagara by Hanumān at 5.1.77a, of Rāma at 5.41.18c, and of Daśaratha at 2.2190*. Certain such titles form complete *pādas*: *ikṣvākukulanandana* used of Rāma at 6.71.4b, 3602* 2, 7.751* 1 [l.v.], of Anaraṇya or a successor at 7.19.14d, and of Daśaratha at 1.478* 8, 1263* 7 (also *ikṣvākukulanandinī* of Sītā at 5.11.57b), *ikṣvākukulavardhana* at 1.41.21d (used of Bhagīratha) and 6.116.16d, *ikṣvākuvamṣaprabhava* at 1.1.8a (Rāma) and 7.59.4c (Śatrughna) and *ikṣvākukulabhāskara* (Bharata) at 3.282*; another complete *pāda* incorporating the term is *ikṣvākuvamṣe dharmiṣṭhe* to denote Rāma at 5.53.15a.

There are also occasionally other epithets occupying a full *pāda* used to designate Rāma, of which the only one to occur more than once in the text is *kausalyānandavardhana* at 1.1.16b, 67.15b, 72.17b, 2.66.33b, 84.11b, 3.35.9b, 6.31.67b, 115.40b, also 5.676* post. and 6.1810* 2 post. (and Mbh.1.105.25b and 3.261.13b), cf. *kausalyānandivardhana* 6.96.25b and 7.742* 1. Others include *sarvabhūtamanohara* at 5.33.8b (interestingly after *rāmaḥ kamalapatrākṣaḥ* in the first *pāda*; at 5.22.2b the epithet refers to Sītā) and *sarvalokapriyamvada* at 5.33.20d, *pūrṇacandrasamadyuti* at 7.1.8b and *pūrṇacandranibhānana* at 5.28.10b and 859* 1 (most of its 14 occurrences in the text refer to Sītā).

The overall picture that we gain from examination of these names and epithets is not vastly different from that to be gained from a study of the text as a whole. However, it is notable that certain of the patronymics in particular are virtually specific to Rāma, without their dynastic sense ever entirely being lost sight of. Equally, it is significant that the two terms which present Rāma's descent in the most immediate and realistic terms, *daśarathātmaja* and *dāśarathi*, tend to decline in frequency with the passage of time, whereas the more general dynastic terms, *rāghava* and *kākutstha*, show a complementary increase, although the biggest shift in the later stages is to the more elaborate epithets such as *raghunandana*. The various *pāda*-length phrases show, as the dynamics of the story from the beginning demand, an emphasis on Rāma's morality, well illustrated by *pādas* such as *rāmo dharmabhṛtām varah*. However, there is rather less

emphasis on the martial aspect – and specifically on Rāma's bow – than one might in abstract have anticipated and it is interesting to note that two frequent *pādas*, *rāmaḥ satyaparākramaḥ* and *rāmasyākliṣṭakarmaṇaḥ*, seem to indicate as much of the moral aspect as the martial. The increase in the elaboration of the epithets and in particular of those like *raghunandana* or *raghuśreṣṭha* is in line with the tendency to overuse of formulaic expressions as the conventions of oral composition break down in the later stages of growth of the epic. It is also, however, worth noting that it is among those first appearing in later stages that any parallels to the forms preferred in later literature, from Kālidāsa to Tulsīdās, may be found.